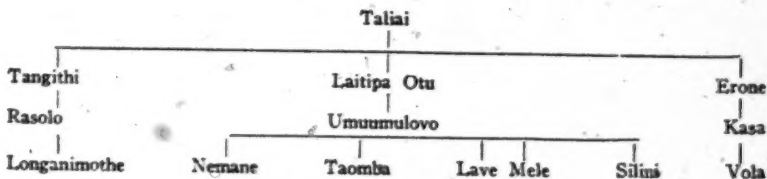


she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vuvu* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*vavakarakorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakavelevete*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimotho may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There is no cast of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavunde*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alawa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*),
834 but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

CONFINEMENT OF GIRLS

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seven-
teen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining
indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light
in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramatoki*). She ate
feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the
upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was
brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating
754 she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw
eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new
person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained con-
tinuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sun-
shine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not
spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might
not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

644 Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's
daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confine-
ment was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger
brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and
all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls.
This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter
of Roko Sali was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tai Tumbou or the herald
would be confined with her. Roko Sali's daughter would order them about. The
various families of the girls would bring food.

857 Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her com-
pagnons played with dolls (*vakataluluvu*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or
797 cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade
dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all
day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be
forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were
dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

Hocart—Lau Islands, Fiji

155

The following are words of abuse:

192

Mbakola. A man killed to be eaten. Formerly it was serious and only used by a nobleman to a commoner, by a man to his very own subjects (*nona tamata sara nga*), or to his younger brother; now it is merely a jest.

Kaisi. Lowborn, is common in anger and in play.

Kawa ni moku. Descendants of the defeated. This is seldom used, and only, it appears, in earnest, to persons of whom it is true.

Ndomi lairo. Suck crabs. Apparently a Thakaundrove expression.

An oath is *mbumbului* or *vosa mbumbului*. Men formerly swore by the chief of the family (*turanga ni yavusa*), the one who governed them. If a man was accused of anything and protested it was not true he would say: "I swear by Tui Naiau" (*au mbumbului vei Tui Naiau*).

SEXUAL RELATIONS AND MARRIAGE

MORALITY

Sexual intercourse is called *veithai*, a word forbidden in presence of women, before whom the term *veindauthi* is used. The word *vala* (to do) is also used as a euphemism. The words *uti* and *pia*, which mean penis, are also not used in the presence of women; the polite term is "a man's thing"; or a woman "a woman's thing."

Morality is very lax in Lau. Bastards are very common in the pedigrees. Lau has a reputation for laxity throughout Fiji, and the men of Viti Levu are mad about Lauan women. This is the answer a Lauan makes to this charge:

Lau has a bad reputation because of Tongan ways: men and women talk to each other, and may walk together in the dark without anything being thought of it. They may go together at night through the village from one house to another; it is only bad if they stop and talk outside. In the West it is forbidden even to talk to a woman, or the owner of the house is silent with jealousy. If a man goes and sits close to a woman and she does not shriek and run away, it means she is ready to accept his advances. Yet there is more fornication in the West; but Lau has a bad reputation because the western people do not understand the freedom. Western men coming to Lau waste a lot of money because they think a girl likes them because she talks to them, and they give her plenty of money, but get nothing for it.

There is a tremendous amount of fornication in the West. There the women are shy and wild. If the man whom a woman likes is in the house, she does not enter, or, if she does, she sits in a dark corner; it is as though she were *sake*; *sake* means that a woman will not speak to a man whom she likes, or, if she speaks, laughs and is ashamed; in Lau this is the way of immature (*yalowai*) children, not of adults: *sake* men go together and are not shy. In the West women are like pigs: a man, will or, if he meets her on the way, will lay hold of her: she cannot refuse. A Lau woman will refuse to go with three or four men; she will accept the advances of a man she likes. Women in the West look countrified (*kai lekutu*); here they make *kava*, roll cigarettes for men and no harm is thought of it.

Formerly young women used to stay in the father's house, and not go about, or if they went about it was in company. Now they go and sleep in the young men's

● **Ba7** dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; **248** if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*lawa ni wakola*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

885 An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as **302** *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

582 Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives **587** in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

584 Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)."
Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

584 A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as **[77]** *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

584 If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place.

585 If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teuten*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*uluulu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth: they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

Hocart—Lau Islands, Fiji

165

get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, but dengue and similar attacks. 757

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks, which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft. 755

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens*.—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga*; then drink. No *tapu*.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *soirula* banana sucker, and the stems of *woro* and *etuwu*, scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticulum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kasi ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [? *langa*] in the ribs and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi los* as a cup. *Tapu*: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying off the soul is dealt with on page 87. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothers Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from her wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko-married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoru*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoru*) was created mad, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for their ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes. 828

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain persons.

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda*, chew *nde ni singa*; drink, once only. 755
757

Tapu: sweet food. [264]

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lasts long, may cause deformed noses (*uithu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease:

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,²² it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because they massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it is mine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There are no leaves, merely one called *vono ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage is hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will still know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misingga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on the ground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. *Tapu*: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262]
[264]

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for diseases which involves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeping octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain comes about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain

²² The knowledge of it is hereditary.

given a steam bath in the house. In a special oblong wooden bathing bowl (*kumete ni silisili*) are placed cut *waro* leaves. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process. 846 852

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua aleva*. 845

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony. 766

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him. 846 [834] 837

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two 854 [515] 164

and Tokalau where a man named Velana was killed. In the village of Tokalau four stones, forming a rectangle, mark the spot where a man dropped dead. 764
A pile of stones at Toka, Fulanga, also mark a burial place.

Formerly, members of the deceased's clan would chop off their little fingers with an *adz*.

WARFARE

The war complex in Lau was closely allied with the ancestor cult and the concept of rank based on *mana*. Informants agree that warfare and fortified villages were introduced into Lau by the immigrants who formed the chiefs' *phratry*. It is said that before the migration from Viti Levu, the land people lived peacefully together in scattered hamlets. A state of tension grew out of the keen interclan and intervillage rivalry for prestige, enhanced by the desire for power on the part of the warriors of the ranking noble clans. 726

Warfare in Lau usually took the form of raids between villages led by rival war leaders of the chief group. Rivalry often centered around the desire for women. The attacking party would capture a high ranking woman, perhaps the wife of a chief from another village, and the affront would be met by a counter attack. [721]

Tales of warfare are full of treachery. The object was to outwit the opponent and save one's own skin. To risk one's life was considered stupid. Attacks were usually launched only by forces superior in strength to those of the defendants. Otherwise an attempt was made to lure the leaders into ambush and to attack them singly or in groups.

Great care was taken to insure the success of a raid. The attacking party secured the assistance of relatives. If they planned to attack a village on another island, the warriors used a related village on that island as their landing place, base of supplies, and ally. The priest retired to the temple and propitiated the war god (*kalou ni valu*). He made an offering of kava to the god and he prayed to the god until he was possessed. He then took the ceremonial club of the clan and stood it up on the handle in the center of the god house. If the club stood up unsupported he knew that the god had entered the weapons of the warriors and the raid would be successful. If it fell down, the raid would not be successful, and the expedition was abandoned. [787]

Four days before the attack the warriors held a meeting in the village, and the war gong (*lali ni valu*) was sounded. It consisted of a hollow log of *tavola* (*Terminalia catappa*) or *mbuambua* (*Gustardia speciosa*) wood about 1.5 meters long. Two men, each with two sticks, stood on opposite sides of the gong and beat in unison. The first drummer was called *tau*, the second *vakataungande*. The complicated, rhythmic war beat was called *nduki tu a lali ni mbakola*. During the four days before the raid the men prepared their weapons. Sexual intercourse and the stealing of property were forbidden. 533
534
726
834

726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
 ● [834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-

727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head [578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been

266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory.

The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were [252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
 728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

with limestone or basalt. Each clan had a god house. According to Moto of Undu, the ground plan of the mound as well as the building of the god house belonging to Matasoata clan was oval in shape and about one fathom wide. A curved wall plate (*i lolu*) was not made of joined sections (as in the modern Tongan dwelling house, p. 165), but of several bowed rods (as in the *vale lolova kathukathu*, p. 171). The roof was gabled. God house sites at Lomatchi gardens on Kambara and at Kamali on Mothe also show oval foundation mounds. Outside the god house grew sweet smelling plants which informants say facilitated spiritual contacts and meditation. Fragrance is frequently used for this purpose in Lau, especially in the form of a wreath or powdered sandalwood.

A temple frequently contained one or more ceremonial clubs, which were slightly smaller and shorter than an ordinary throwing club (*i kolo*) and were elaborately decorated with incised carving accentuated with lime. The ancestor god entered the ceremonial clubs, making them sacred. Other weapons belonging to the clan were kept in the clan temple. The weapons of each clan had a title. Those of Matasoata were called Toa Kula, those of Tonganiuthi, Iri Mbuli. Before a raid the priest prayed over the clan weapons and, if the god was willing, his mana entered them and the clan was victorious. If the god did not enter the weapons the people were defeated because the god of the enemy was stronger.

God houses as well as sacred caves (pp. 108-109) and natural objects such as stones or trees in which the god dwelt were called *na sava* (meaning the sacred or purified).

PURIFICATION

Everything directly connected with the gods was sacred, pure, and free from the profane. Everything which was directly connected with women's loss of blood—the menses, first intercourse, pregnancy, and birth—was profane and impure. Sickness and circumcision were profane.

Ritual purification was necessary in Lau before contact with the sacred and after contact with the profane. Purification was accomplished by means of water or smoke. The usual purification pattern was the four-day tabu, lifted by a bath (*i silisili*) in the sea. Moto said that formerly it was observed after killing in war (*veivaluvaluti*) and after murder in peace time (*veivakamatei*). The priest, the only human being possessed by the god, purified himself before approaching the god by a ritual bath in the temple. One tale relates how the priest of Tonganiuthi clan was killed by his own people while bathing because he had been angry when the people failed to bring the first fruits to the god house. Warriors prepared themselves to carry the sacred weapons by abstinence from sexual intercourse for four nights immediately before the raid. Women still bathe in the sea according to the old pattern

A FIJIAN IS BORN

If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother 33
for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845
take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a
sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleepless-
ness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766]
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in
one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of [775]
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before
entering the house. The child is presented to him by his
mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him
through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him
for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned,
and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with
his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam'-bē), or the
mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is
called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness
cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the
ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing,
people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad"
and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is
occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for
practically all children in any one family are at least 18
months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent [837]
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several